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ABSTRACT

This paper calls for an alternative view of educational policy, a departure from the macroperspective currently dominating policy analysis. The latter perspective tends to focus on policy development and implementation issues of politics and control, compliance and measurement, and relationship structures and influences among groups and actors. Shifting to a microperspective can help conceptualize the meaning of policy while focusing on the individual educators who must change through the policy-enactment process. A microperspective examines individuals' ideologies of thought, motives to act, and limitations to change with respect to "personal" and social policy. Imaginative literature offers a way to break free from policy-analysis frameworks that tend to reinforce current patterns of top-down policy-making. Kazuo Ishiguro's novel "The Remains of the Day" illustrates the potential of literature for suggesting new ways of thinking about educational policy. This novel contains themes that parallel educational policy-realization, even though the story is well removed in context, time, and space from the educational system. Contains 25 references. (Author/MLH)

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New Lenses for Viewing Educational Policy: Insights Through Imaginative Literature

by

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New Lenses for Viewing Educational Policy: Insights Through Imaginative Literature

Abstract: This paper calls for an alternate view of educational policy to the macro-perspective currently dominating policy analysis. This macro-perspective tends to focus on policy development and implementation issues of politics and control, compliance and measurement, relationship structures and influences among groups and actors. A shift to a micro-perspective is suggested here as an alternative conceptualizing the meaning of policy, focusing on the individual educators who must change through the process of policy enactment. A micro-perspective examines individuals' ideologies of thought, motives to act, and limitations to change with respect to "personal" as well as societal policy. An argument is made for using imaginative literature as one way to break free from the frameworks of policy analysis that tend to reinforce current patterns of top-down policy-making. The novel The Remains of the Day is used as an example of the potential of literature to suggest new ways of thinking about educational policy.

New Lenses for Viewing Educational Policy: Insights Through Imaginative Literature

Many studies of educational policy appear to focus upon the observable state of affairs in schools and districts, investigating exactly *how* these states of affairs change in relationship to some planned intervention. The change process itself is conceptualized very differently by analysts and decision-makers. These conceptualizations are based on different beliefs about who makes educational decisions, about why these decisions are made, and about how these decisions affect or don't affect educators' behaviors. For example, a common way to conceptualize educational policy is to divide the processes of decision and implementation. In its most purposive-rational manifestation, educational change is understood as an input-output sequence of linear events emanating from a top-down directive. A different conceptualization understands educational policy as a recursive process of generation, development, and actualization of policy intents arrived at through collaborative dialogue among various actors who influence change and who are, in turn, affected by the changes (see, for instance, Blackmore, 1992).

The question raised in this paper is not one of adjudicating "which" conceptualization or policy process is most just, reasonable, coherent, or useful. Rather, the point is to draw attention to an eminently practical issue for educators living through policy changes. Children and teachers dwell, body and mind, in the landscapes created by policy perspectives. Their lives and mutual relationships uncoil and breathe within pedagogical lands; together they navigate the unfolding curriculum. When issues of policy are analysed and instrumentalized without attending to these inner landscapes of school lives and what external change really means in these lives, they harden into brittle bureaucratic models that may bear little relevance to educators and wield little influence on practice.

The Macro-Perspective

Policy analysts often choose to view policy from a macro-perspective. The focus remains on the actions, counter-actions, and interactions of groups and actors. From a birds-eye view, the reader of these educational policy studies is directed to look at the manipulation of power, strategies and structures by key policy "actors" in converting desires into decisions (Mazzoni, 1993), the milieu, machinations, and mindsets of these elite policy-makers (Sacken & Medina, 1990), the formation and manouevring of coalitions in policy "arenas" (Mazzoni, 1991), and the theoretical perspectives of various groups of actors in the policy implementation process (LaRocque, 1986). These writers are concerned with conceptualizations of control and its exercise to implement policy (Elmore, 1993), the instruments that can ensure compliance with the policy-makers' decisions (McDonnell and Elmore, 1987), and the indicators that can measure the extent of policy implementation (Oakes, 1989). Even when a decentralized framework for policy is espoused, appearing to reverse the power hierarchy to empower educational decision-making and change from the schools and their people, some policy analysts retain a macro-perspective and focus upon ways the state can determine and manipulate program implementation in a flexible "decentralized" fashion (Clune, 1993; Smith & O'Day, 1990). Policy development is often pictured as separated from the process of policy implementation, a separation which invites questions about how policy decisions are developed and who influences these decisions, how to make and communicate meaningful policy decisions, and how to inform and ensure the compliance of implementers.

But key questions emerge again and again in these studies. Darling-Hammond (1990), for instance, asks about the meaning of specific policies for educational life within classrooms: "How do teachers understand and interpret the intentions of new policies in the context of their knowledge, beliefs, and teaching circumstances? How, and under what conditions, do policies intended to change teaching actually do so? What are the factors that seem to distinguish between superficial compliance and fulsome embraces of new ideas?" (p. 341)

These questions turn back upon macro perspectives of educational policy, implicitly skeptical of the much-lauded "systems thinking" view (espoused by Senge (1990) among

others, as a sort of magical cornerstone for pervasive organizational change). These questions, if considered carefully, invite a different approach to policy study, one which focuses on individual human beings and how they change: the dynamic growth in their inner worlds of perception and language and meaning, responding to and shaping their outer landscapes of intersubjectivity and values and activity.

The Micro-Perspective

At the heart of what some refer to as "policy implementation" in education - that is, an observable change in a classroom, school, or district - lies human change in the community of people comprising that organizational entity. And curled at the core of this apparently collective change is nested a change in the behavior and views of each participant in that group - a particular teacher, or parent, or principal. The change in this person, if it is authentic and sustained over a period of time without coercion or other external "motivation", reflects a complex and very personal transformation. This transformation might be a shift in a certain attitude or a modification of some assumption found to be limited and inaccurate. Or, the transformation might entail a fundamental revisiting of those core beliefs or even values that are intricately woven with a sense of self and frames for perceiving the world and making meaning out of one's experiences in it.

Policy debate adopting a "micro-perspective" might be enlightened by confronting educational change processes experienced by the various Selves enmeshed in the landscape of pedagogy: students, parents, administrators, curriculum developers, as well as teachers. However, Diamond (1991) argues that the key to educational reform is teacher transformation, a "creativity cycle" owned and shaped by teachers who become "scholars of their own consciousness" (p. 123), continually examining and reshaping their perspectives and knowledge constructions. He conceptualizes the teacher as being the centre of schools' gravity and the primary mover of educational change. He also argues for a new power structure to replace the existing hierarchy of policy-making, the structure of power where administrators

and politicians decree "solutions" based on their own understandings of schooling's reality "at the top", then hold teachers "at the bottom" accountable.

Following Diamond's argument, then, the teacher's landscape will provide the focus for the exploration of educational policy presented in this paper. When we look into a teacher's lifeworld as one important way of understanding the process of policy realization in education, new questions surface. How is a teacher's worldview and cherished ideals about education and his or her role within it constituted? How does a teacher conceive a personal sense of duty or service in education? How does a teacher decide what is a "good" policy related to his or her role in education? What motivates a teacher to change his or her attitudes, beliefs, assumptions, or values about some policy aspect of education that impacts his or her own actions? What motivates a teacher to participate in making decisions about educational policy change? What responsibility does a teacher have to the community and to participation in educational decision-making that affects the community? How does a teacher communicate within a particular knowledge community with its own shared symbols and meanings? What constraints control a teacher's ability to choose, to act, and to participate in policy realization? Why does a teacher choose to do, or not do, something different in his or her own sphere of living out policy?

The Lens of Imaginative Literature

Literary fiction offers one way of exploring these questions. Imaginative literature often focuses us on the inner worlds of people, helping us explore possibilities that explain the complex landscape of human beliefs, decisions, and actions. Literature also distances us from the comfortable taken-for-granted assumptions underpinning our own worldviews which often prevent us from stepping outside our accustomed ways of viewing and interpreting the case studies presented in so many policy analyses. By offering us scenarios removed from ourselves in time and space, literature can force us to confront our own reality structures with new eyes. Freed from pragmatic constraints and logical, rational analyses, we often experience unexpected insights through literature. These insights are powerful. They allow us to explore

imaginatively new possibilities for seeing, hearing, acting, and being. Maxine Green (1978) argues for the significant role literature can play to foster emancipated thinking in education:

> Encounters with literary works of art make it possible for us to come in contact with ourselves, to recover a lost spontaneity. This is because in order to enter into the illusioned world of the novel ... we must break with the mundane and the taken -for-granted. We must ... bracket out the ordinary world.... No longer in the domain of the conventional and the routine, we discover the ways in which structure or hierarchies or even bureaucracies are actually given to our consciousness. (p. 2)

The worlds of fiction parallel reality. However, they are imaginative and, thus, are completely removed from the constraints of our rational world's paradigm, a paradigm which tends to shape not only the way we seek solutions but also the way we frame our problems. The process and analysis of policy is particularly conceived within a rational frame, relying heavily on statistical data, assuming an objective, universal set of generalizable truths, and searching for models which can be generalized to other contexts. The cases forming the emerging canon of research and theory in educational policy mostly emanate from a reality governed by hierarchical structures and rational ways of knowing. As a result, our analyses and interpretations of policy can not be easily viewed from outside the paradigms from within which the cases evolve. Imaginative fiction offers an opportunity to release us from these paradigms, to see divergently, to raise new questions that are excluded by our structural and rational policy perspectives, and encourage us to speculate about new possibilities that can not emerge when our analyses of policy cases remain entrenched in existing paradigms.

To enable the study of policy, any of a multitude of works of literary fiction could be chosen. Each one, when chosen and considered, might prove fruitful to open new questions and to lead us to new landscapes of thinking about and acting in educational policy. For purposes of this paper, the novel The Remains of the Day by Kazuo Ishiguro was chosen to exemplify the new perspectives on policy and people offered in imaginative literature. The Remains of the Day happens to contain themes which parallel educational policy-realization, even though the story is well removed in context, time, and space from the educational system.

The setting of this novel is pre-World War II Britain which appears, at least superficially, to parallel the unpredictable and rather volatile context of our current educational

scene. The protagonist, a proudly autonomous English butler with a strong sense of duty to serve and a clearly defined professional idealism, invites comparison with teachers. A study of this novel can help shake us loose from our customary approaches to understanding educational policy formation and change as it functions at the macro-level of systemic patterns and in focusing us on a micro-perspective of policy as it is formed by individual people thinking about and acting upon beliefs and value choices.

Imaginative literature that engages us psychologically and emotionally causes us to identify with and experience a protagonist's dilemma, which resonates with a spectrum of our own experiences. We enter tensions and confront revelations of experience in the characters' worlds. Alternately we seek solutions along with the characters, then step outside those characters to view their actions and constructions of reality critically. As in life, there are no easy resolutions to the problems presented in literature. Yet there are windows which allow multiple interpretations. Through symbol and image, literature invites many entry points for understanding, invokes and tolerates many perspectives, and stimulates many emotional and experiential memories. Through associations we connect our own lifeworlds with the various characters, events, and ideas presented in literature. When this connection occurs, we are often jolted awake to a new, critical vision of our realities. In a powerful way imaginative literature helps us re-view, re-interpret, and perhaps tear and re-weave the fabric of meanings constructing our own worlds.

For example, dramatists promoting social reform, such as Berthold Brecht and Arthur Miller, presented audiences with imaginative scenarios distanced from the viewers' societal contexts, while mirroring the horrific yet taken-for-granted realities surrounding those audiences. In presenting the shocking story of the 1692 Salem executions of innocent women, Miller's The Crucible startled American audiences of 1953 into a new vision of the "witch-hunts" unfolding on their TV screens in the form of the McCarthy trials. Brecht attempted to awaken audiences of pre-World War II Germany to their frightening political realities and catalyse their resistance with plays like Mother Courage set in the Hundred Years' War.

The Relevance of The Remains of the Day

The Remains of the Day presents us with many of our cherished and tenaciously held tacit beliefs in the pathetic figure of Stevens, the aging butler who has dedicated his life to serving his employer and who is now caged, dehumanized, almost rendered incapable of thinking, loveless, and virtually friendless. Stevens is the perfect compliant technician, who is now at last and for the first time reflecting upon the meaning of his experiences in that role. As we wend our way along with him in his journey through the countryside of both England and his memories of Darlington Hall, we readers are forced to confront many of the questions about policy raised earlier.

While reading, one can't help but feel empathy with Stevens. When we put aside the novel we are able to step outside his quixotic monologues to reflect at a psychological distance upon the issues opened by his convictions: What does it mean to be a professional? How is technical control and mastery to be balanced with risk and experimentation? What is "dignity" and "honor" and when do these ideals become hollow and foolish? What is the difference between the duty to serve loyally and slavish ignorance? How does an old paradigm and its values give way to a new? How does one know what is a "good" or worthy ideal? A central challenge concerns the role of the "ordinary" professional with respect to the policy-making elites: What is the individual's responsibility? Should an individual be encouraged to participate in an arena where he or she has little experience or expertise? Should an individual simply trust the powerful elite to make decisions?

The characters revolving around Stevens voice very different perspectives and enact their own reality of events that touch upon the fringes of his world. Their worlds raise yet more questions for the reader, deep questions about the meaning of ethics and moral action, social justice, honor and power, voice and silence, public and private.

The remainder of this paper will explore three themes apparent in The Remains of the Day, showing particular insights yielded by these themes into educational policy-making and

implementation. These three themes are (1) personal policy-building and its transformation related to social change; (2) the individual's responsibility in policy-making for the community; and (3) the individual's role and strategies working with others to influence policy. These themes certainly do not present a definitive or even inclusive interpretation of the novel's central ideas. The purpose of the following analysis is to suggest ways of penetrating and exploring, through a particular piece of imaginative literature, vital questions at the heart of policy analysis and inquiry.

Theme One: Personal Policy-Building and its Transformation

The Remains of the Day depicts Stevens as a paragon of discipline and professional pride. His actions are consistent with a coherent set of principles for living and serving, derived thoughtfully through observing role models and reflecting about what is truth, what is good, and what is right. Whirling about Stevens is a world torn by conflicting values, fragmented by situations that defy the traditional structures and probabilities, and people refusing to comply with time-honored codes of behavior who conflict with others who defend these codes. Stevens' own employer is embroiled in initiatives to influence Europe's key policy-makers. These initiatives bring widely differing perspectives into the house and catalyses much controversial debate within Stevens' hearing. Meanwhile, Stevens experiences disorienting situations and dilemmas throughout the novel which should challenge his firm beliefs, but don't.

Darling-Hammond (1992) states that policies "must be based on a sound understanding of what motivates individual and organizational change" (p. 341). Two central questions we ask while watching Stevens' actions and listening to his reflections are: Why doesn't Stevens change? and Why does Stevens continue to cling so tenaciously to certain values and beliefs, continuing to act in ways consistent with these values and beliefs, despite the challenges created directly and indirectly by dramatic policy changes in his world? The novel suggests that three cornerstones govern Stevens' and other characters' resistance to change: (a) a strong

sense of professionalism; (b) the power of ideology; and (c) the stifling control over his behavior wielded by the rules enforcing his ideology.

(a) Professionalism

Stevens spends much time reflecting upon the substance and ethics of his professional role. His thoughts open rich opportunities for speculation in any discipline about what it means to be a professional and act within a professional code. Like teachers in many ways, Stevens conceives his role primarily as one of duty: he is dedicated to providing good service to his employer. Teachers define the directions for their energy differently, of course, focusing on serving their students; still, teachers seem to exemplify the same dedication and sense of autonomy that Stevens embodies. Within the boundaries of his domain of service, he expects to organize and regulate the tasks of this duty without interference. He takes pride in attending with extraordinary care to details like silver polishing for example, with a sense that the pleasure afforded by gleaming silver goes a little way towards easing the relations between his employer and whomever significant personage that employer is attempting to persuade related to some policy matter. No task is refused that will help the person he serves.

At the risk of stretching the parallel too far, it seems that Stevens models the ethic of caring espoused for teachers by Nel Noddings (1988), where the carer calls upon a sense of obligation to stimulate a natural sense of caring. The carer responds to the needs, wants, and initiations of the person cared for. This caring involves engrossment (non-selective attention and total presence to the other), and displacement of motivation (where the motive energy flows in the direction of the other's needs and projects). In the novel, this caring ethic is wonderfully played out in the scenario where the bachelor Stevens awkwardly but genuinely attempts to fulfill his employer's request to explain sex to the nephew of a houseguest. Later, Stevens speaks of the need for a professional to "achieve that balance between attentiveness and the illusion of absence that is essential to good waiting" (p. 72). Although Stevens' context uses "waiting" to mean serving at table, the concept of waiting awakens an interesting

perspective on the "service" activity of teaching. "Waiting" embeds associations of listening, patience, and refraining from imposing the teacher's own rhythms and structures on the learning of another. The balance between presence and absence is a central dilemma of teaching, a dilemma which Judith Newman (1991) depicts as making difficult teaching decisions about when to hold back expertise and when to rescue the learner.

Stevens' definition of 'greatness' in his profession as a butler is grounded in a strong concept of dignity, which also appears to hold relevance in the teaching profession: "Dignity has to do crucially with a butler's ability not to abandon the professional being which he inhabits...The great butlers are great by virtue of their being able to inhabit their professional role and inhabit it to the utmost; they will not be shaken out by external events, however surprising, alarming, or vexing" (p. 42-43). The professional is calm under tests of crisis, immutable and loyal to a high standard of behavior despite external changes, and finds strength in the power of ideals developed and reinforced among fellow professionals. The special quality distinguishing true professionals from those emulating professionalism through superficial appearance, Stevens believes, defies empirical measurement and can only be judged intuitively. The close link between the concept of his role as a professional and his sense of self is striking, and echoes literature showing teachers' construction of self and personal values to be intricately woven with their growth of understanding about what it means to be a teacher (Nias, 1991; Schubert and Ayers, 1992), and with the development and recognition of their practical knowledge and personal beliefs comprising their professional self (Clandinin and Connelly, 1988, 1990).

Important to note is the inherent resistance to change embodied in the very conception of what it means to be a professional. If a parallel with the teaching profession can be perceived in Stevens' understandings of dignity, the lesson for our further ponderings might be that (teaching) professionals, by virtue of adherence to a governing code of ethics enshrining the obligations of service, caring, and silence, and granting the power of self-regulation according to professionally determined high standards, cannot succumb to surprising, alarming, or

vexing external events invoking change. The circle of professional associates alone determines areas for change, and proudly insulates and defends the membership from vagaries and exigencies of the broader societal context, which includes policy-makers, administrators, other agencies and institutions who may seek to impose new definitions of the role and responsibilities of the professional. These attitudes are corroborated by policy studies showing teacher resistance to change. LaRocque (1986), for instance, found that teachers held a different conceptualization of the policy process to the policy-makers. Teachers' conceptualizations were based on deep beliefs about the desirability and efficacy of the proposed programs, and they simply refused to implement the changes in the way desired by policy-makers. Furthermore, LaRocque found that teachers resented the interference and disruption to their sphere of activity by outsiders.

(b) Power of Ideology

Policy analysts show again and again the powerful role of ideology in uniting groups, entrenching their position, and shaping both policy-making and policy implementation. LaRocque and Coleman (1993), in reviewing activities of three British Columbia school boards, found that the successful boards "shared strong and consistent ideological commitment" (p. 471). Sabatier's theory of advocacy coalitions (cited by Mawhinney, 1991) shows that individuals will not question a group's policy when core beliefs are shared. Mawhinney states that ideology, not interests, is the tie that binds people into groups and catalyses their actions.

If our personal and collective ideology is an important determinant of how we choose to act, the question of policy becomes, what causes ideology to change? LaRocque (1986) found that policy-makers realized educational change occurs slowly, but they weren't sure why. Boyd (1991) presents an analysis of paradigmatic shifts represented through the history of educational policy-making, showing that general trends of changing ideologies, more than anything else, influence actual changes in educational practice. These trends are shaped by a

variety of influences, social, cultural, economic, and political. He shows how the modern trend has moved from ideals of "equity, social justice, and the common good to questions of liberty, choice, excellence, and efficiency" (p. 22). In fact, it is this same trend that we see flowing beneath the events of The Remains of the Day.

Underlying Stevens' sense of professionalism which governs his sense of self and motivates all his actions is a firm ideology. He views the world as stable and predictable, governed by people acting in reasonable, rational ways to bring influence upon decision-makers who have at heart the best interests of the common good. The central value involves sacrifice of personal interests for the needs of the broader community. These needs include justice and peace. The ultimately desirable state of affairs is ruled by control and order. His employer, Lord Darlington, is rooted in the same tradition of values and beliefs shaping Stevens' ideology, and Stevens is clear about the importance for a true professional to select an employer exemplifying worthy morals. He rejects a hierarchy of great gentlemen according to wealth, which he claims structured relations and status in his father's day. For Stevens, moral status accrues to a true "gentleman", one devoted to furthering the progress of humanity and the future well-being of "the Empire". In serving such a gentleman, a professional feels "the satisfaction of being able to say with some reason that one's efforts, in however modest a way, comprise a contribution to the course of history" (p. 139).

Lord Darlington's values surface in various debates throughout the novel, where he defends honor, fighting for justice and not according to vendettas against a particular group, and trying to do "good" in the world. It is definition of this "good" that proves in the novel to be a most elusive quality, changing abruptly with changing societal priorities, unanticipated situations, new information that was previously not apparent, and changing relationships. Darlington, for example, exerts enormous effort to form alliances between Britain's elite and the German Herr Ribbentrop, who later proves to have been manipulating Darlington and his peers for Nazi purposes.

Skeptical characters in the novel deplore Darlington as a meddling amateur, guided by naive idealism without expertise. Stevens easily dismisses such criticism of "high-flown nonsense with no grounding in reality" (p. 138) as the thinking of cowards lacking full induction into the professional code of honour. Yet the character Lewis challenges us to re-think the notion of ideals when he smirks at Darlington's little conferences of nobility as nothing but a group of honest, well-meaning dreamers about to be decimated by the real professionals of international affairs. Lewis asks: "Have you any idea what sort of place the world is becoming all around you? The days when you could act out of your noble instincts are over" (p. 102).

His questions are seminal ones for us to pose to any group or institution acting to preserve a tradition of values based on a worldview which collides with rapid societal changes. Levin and LeTourneau (1991), for instance, find universities "struggling to keep an encroaching world at bay" in ways highly reminiscent of Darlington and his cronies. Levin and LeTourneau study the reactions of three Manitoba universities to government policies and conclude that the universities are governed by a different ideology. Entrenched in an old paradigm, the university attitude is perceived to be smug, non-collaborative, and protectionist, rather than responsive to the changing political, economic and social context represented by government policy initiatives.

Different individuals in different groups each define the desirable outcome, the notion of what is "good", differently. In all this, the reader is left asking, Who should be empowered as the policy decision-maker to define what is "good"? According to what criteria? Whose interests should be served by this definition? How can we be sure that what seems unquestionably "good" today will not prove to be ruinous tomorrow? How can we adjudicate different perspectives about what is "good"? Is consensus desirable? How is it to be achieved?

But Stevens remains oblivious to such questions, and this may be the most puzzling enigma in the novel. Although he is exposed to events that one would reasonably expect to shatter his ideology, he manages to hold firm to his beliefs. His behavior challenges Sabatier's

premise that policy-oriented learning (when an individual changes beliefs and attitudes through learning related to the policy development process) happens when individuals perceive a problem that affects their core values. How can a person listen to the many cogent and reasonable challenges to his own ideology, watch dramatic, unpredictable, and previously unimaginable changes in the world unfold in front of his eyes, and most importantly, witness the destruction wrought by the foolishness proven in the playing out of his ideology on the world stage, and yet not change his own values and beliefs? Ishiguro is not offering us the portrait of Stevens as an oddity, an interesting exception. By analysing Stevens' thought processes, we might uncover useful insights about how many people think and behave even when their beliefs prove false, their assumptions inadequate, their values destructive.

(c) Controlling Rules, or the "Paradigm Prison"

Stevens' concept of his professional role, fueled by his ideology about honour and service and justice, is enacted through a complex series of rigid rules governing even the minutest niceties of behavior. Much of the novel documents his anxiety to control and bring to harmonious order every aspect of domestic life in the house through monitoring the observance of these rules. His vigilance is much resented by fellow professionals like Miss Kenton who not only pleads for communication and understanding at a human level, but also strongly resents such surveillance, with its implicit distrust and intrusion into her own domain of professional autonomy. The value he places on control and mastery of every situation precludes any sense of risk and exploration, which partly explains his inability to respond to forces exerting change. The house, a tidy universe remote from the rest of the volatile world, becomes a symbol of entrenched thinking. Symbolically, Stevens has never ventured outside the house until his journey into the countryside late in life, which occasions his reflective journey through his autobiography. It is on this journey that Stevens for the first time is exposed, through dialogue with others, to alternate perspectives that stimulate his critical

reflection on his own experiences, helping him to see the limitations of his old thinking and taken-for-granted assumptions.

Boyd (1991) argues the need to scrutinize the paradigms influencing our thinking, their biases and consequences: "To the extent that we are captives of a particular paradigm, we are prisoners of that vision" (p. 7). In The Remains of the Day, the prison metaphor functions as a sad reminder of the power of paradigms. Both Stevens and his father live in rooms described as prison cells. The elder Stevens, a model for his son of greatness in the profession, suffers infirmity and finally death through a deterioration that symbolically parallels the deterioration of Darlington's tradition and ideology being played out in the private conference of nobles he holds. The pathetic scene of the aging Stevens retracing again and again his steps in the garden that led to the disastrous "fall" finishing his career, retracing them "as if searching for some precious jewel he had dropped" (p. 66), raises questions for the reader that escape Stevens' notice, about the folly of ignoring inevitable change while pursuing a professional creed single-mindedly. Stevens' noble ideas of professionalism are sublimated in the stark image of the old butler, his father, frozen in the paralysis of a stroke on one knee pushing desperately against an ignoble cart of brushes and mops representing his life's work of domestic service. The dying Stevens can only stare at his hands and ask "Is everything in hand?" Control and service construct his life right to the end. The younger Stevens continues to serve the houseguests of the conference as his father is dying upstairs in the cell of his paradigm, and later remembers most his personal triumph in preserving the virtues of his professional code throughout a difficult time.

The house itself is a suffocating cage, reflecting the cage of regulations that has squeezed out of Stevens any capacity for human warmth and understanding. As a symbol of a system, the house is an ominous reminder of the capacity of an organization or system to become a world unto itself, dehumanizing and suffocating its inhabitants, blinding them to the very structures that imprison their thinking, and perpetuating its existence and its hegemony by creating an endless cycle of labor replete with a minutae of rules just to preserve itself. Stevens

becomes entirely wrapped in the details of his work to ensure the smooth running of the house, the system comprising his world. As the signs of his father's infirmity and deterioration, symbolizing the deterioration of Stevens' patterns of thinking and believing, increase, Stevens clings more fervently to the concrete tasks that provide stability in his world, the things he knows and does well. He attends scrupulously to perfecting tasks with no real meaning such as developing a staff plan for a staff of four, checking and then checking again that there is sufficient linen -- and when he has exhausted his own tasks he monitors the tasks of others, much to their frustration.

The endless round of detailed and ultimately meaningless activity provides an anchor of stability in a whirling world, albeit an illusory anchor, and protects Stevens from the issues. He can be too busy, too preoccupied to stay and hear the end of a conversation planning strategy in European politics. His trust and loyalty to his employer insulates him from participating as a critical thinker or a voice raised to question decisions made in his presence. He protests that his duties, reinforcing his "place" in the world, render any "display of curiosity" inappropriate. His ears stopped by the cotton of such complacency, Stevens sits in the next room while Britain's Prime Minister and a German ambassador forge an alliance. The reader is left to consider possible parallels in the context of educators and educational policy.

Theme Two: The Individual's Responsibility in Policy-Making

Surrounding Stevens is a stormy sea of controversy and debate about what the social elite and policy-makers have determined to be the most pressing issues for the political agenda. Lord Darlington says to his guests "You can say anything in front of Stevens", and they do, without regard for Stevens as a potential voice or participant.

But Stevens doesn't construe his role in any way as a participant in the debates of the day. He hears many different points of view expressed in the house, he is privy to conversations of some of the greatest figures of the day including Churchill. He hears, but he doesn't listen. He makes it clear that his role is restricted to his domestic affairs in a world

neatly insulated from the chaotic changes of the external world by the boundaries of the house walls, to be kept tidily ordered and free of the dust of uncertainty.

The butler's duty is to provide good service. It is not to meddle in the great affairs of the nation. The fact is, such affairs will always be beyond the understanding of those such as you and I, and those of us who wish to make our mark must realize that we best do so by concentrating on what is within our realm ... by devoting our attention to providing the best possible service to those great gentlemen in whose hands the destiny of civilization lies. (p. 199)

This notion of "understanding" is played out as a theme in the novel related to the question, who has sufficient expertise and knowledge to be extended membership to the club of decision-makers? Who should be allowed to participate? Other voices of the non-elite in the novel defend their right to meaningful participation. In a village Stevens encounters along his journey, a Mr. Smith argues vehemently that the meaning of human dignity is lodged in the right to express one's opinion freely, a right won in World War II which was ought to prevent the world becoming a "a few masters and millions upon millions of slaves" (p. 186). Smith claims this right to be a solemn responsibility, "to making sure our voice gets heard in high places" (p. 189). Smith is speaking for the need not only to talk and develop opinions, but to act. Dignity is realized through active participation in the affairs lying outside one's immediate concerns, the issues of the broader community.

This theme is echoed in the educational policy literature. Rein (1982) cited by Blackmore argues that teachers must produce, not merely consume policy, that they must be prepared to articulate their own value position and interests. Carlson (1993) shows that the centralized bureaucratic model of school organizations reproduces inequalities of class, gender and race. He states that counter groups must articulate their political agendas. He argues for workplace democratization, meaning enhanced participation by workers in substantive decisions affecting their everyday lives. Fowler (1992), in analysing the development of school

choice policy in France, shows how when the power of choice is given to those without the resources to choose, the inequality and social stratification embedded in the system (which deprived the marginalized of the resources to choose in the first place) simply increases. Boyd (1992) shows how the individual choice (self-interest) must be within the framework of concern for the community, for the needs of others.

But Stevens dismisses this claim. He has so little sense of himself as a participant that he develops no voice at all. Darlington and a group of friends humiliate Stevens by putting to him several rapid complex questions about issues of their concern, and delight in the proof thus provided by Stevens' mechanical insistence that he cannot comment that the common man is too ignorant to be allowed to participate in decision-making. The novel thus asks, how can those removed from the arenas of the policy-makers be included in a meaningful way in debating issues and developing policies? How can the non-elites be empowered to view themselves as participants, to develop an interest in and an opinion about these issues? How can they be involved in a way other than simply clamoring for voice, which is too easily disregarded by the smug elite as parochial? How can existing structures be dismantled so that the assymetrical power relations marginalizing the Mr. Smiths and Mr. Stevens are reconfigured to provide more equity?

Stevens trusts Lord Darlington completely. In response to others' attitudes of critical questioning, Stevens claims that it is "simply not possible to adopt such a critical attitude towards an employer and at the same time provide good service" (p. 200). One of the unshakeable tenets of good service is loyalty. Not "mindless loyalty", but loyalty bound by deliberate contract after careful searching for a worthy employer who "embodies all that I find noble and admirable" (p. 200). Lord Darlington thus functions as a symbol of Stevens' ideology, his personal policy. Loyalty to this personal set of beliefs is intricately woven with a sense of professional duty, as well as a sense of self and personal worth.

But at the end of the novel, after reflection upon Darlington's naive machinations to bring influence to bear upon Europe's leaders, Stevens realizes his error in abdicating

responsibility to think and participate in the perplexing questions at the hub of the changes affecting the world outside the house. He sees at last that there is no dignity in simply and blindly trusting in the judgment and decisions of the elite, as he has done all his life:

> His lordship was a courageous man. He chose a certain path in life, it proved to be a misguided one, but there, he chose it, he can say that at least. As for myself, I cannot even claim that. You see, I trusted. I trusted in his lordship's wisdom. All those years I served him, I trusted I was doing something worthwhile. I can't even say I made my own mistakes. Really -- one has to ask oneself -- what dignity is there in that? (p. 243)

Theme Three: Power, Beliefs, and Strategies Behind the Scenes

Stepping away from Stevens' world of tradition and domestic detail, the novel portrays a fascinating world of power and influence functioning in various ways to shape the policy driving Europe's restructuring and alliance formations. Questions are raised about just who has the most power. Who are the elites? What beliefs unite them, what motivates their actions? Mazzoni (1991) raises similar questions in the realm of educational policy-making. He asks, what unites groups, interests or ideologies? Boyd (1991) shows how certain shifts in ideology have proven the key determinants initiating and shaping educational change over time. This novel portrays ideology to be the most fundamental influence in shaping both personal and collective policy, and shows how a shift in ideology is the single most important factor in determining real policy change evident in new ways of people thinking and acting. Common ideology can unite those with very different interests, but interests are proven to motivate the action guiding policy formation.

Stevens himself points to a shift from a hierarchy established by wealth which determined the power structures in his father's day, to an elite determined by moral status. The real decision-makers in his own world, according to Stevens, are those driven by a cause for the common good, a felt need to further the progress of humanity, and a passion to end

injustice and suffering in the world. Emerging on the fringes of this ordering of power are the newer elite, represented by the American Lewis, who claims that the real decision-makers of the future will not be the noble gentlemen of high-minded ideals and passion for causes based on ideologies of honour and dignity, but those with political savvy and expertise: the real "professionals".

In The Remains of the Day, Darlington Hall is the informal arena where many alliances are forged and considerable effort expended to sway opinion among "powerful and influential gentlemen" who will determine policy in the public arenas. For example, prior to a conference of European leaders to be held in Switzerland in 1922, Lord Darlington hosts a gathering to "ensure a satisfactory outcome to this event" (p. 75). The alliance he seeks to establish is built upon a shared conviction that the Versailles Treaty has been unfair to Germany and is causing enormous suffering. The elite figures meeting at Darlington Hall share a belief that it is "immoral" to continue punishing Germany, and a concern that the economic deterioration gripping Germany will spread to other countries if they don't seek to dismantle adversarial postures and embrace a more cooperative approach to identify and address issues affecting them all. In particular, Darlington's focus is on securing the attendance at his private "conference" of one supposedly influential Monsieur Dupont: "The fate of Europe could actually hang on our ability to bring Dupont around on this point" (p. 81). The alliance Darlington seeks, for the goal of unity, is forged through a retreat fostering a spirit of friendship, opportunities for informal dialogue and formal debate, and an emphasis on common, indisputable goals of peace and justice transcending differences of opinion about specific policies and programs to operationalize these goals.

The objectives and success of this informal conference echoes ideas posited by policy analysts about changes in educational policy. Sabatier (1988) declares that policy change occurs in sub-systems, where actors from different institutions interact and share common overarching beliefs. Blackmore (19) points out that policy is a product of dialogue between multiple discourses. Mazzoni (1991) points to the key role played by "outside policy

entrepreneurs: "individual actors who are powerful, tenacious, and shrewd can overcome or finesse the constraints and can take advantage of the window -- indeed even create some of them -- to play a catalytic role in the state politics of policy innovation" (p. 132).

Certainly this novel illustrates the truth of Mazzoni's findings. Stevens concludes that

> the great decisions of the world are not, in fact, arrived at simply in the public chambers .... crucial decisions are arrived at in the privacy and calm of the great houses of this country. What occurs under the public gaze with so much pomp and ceremony is often the conclusion, or mere ratification, of what has taken place over weeks and months within the walls of such houses. (p. 115)

Stevens envisions the world as a wheel, with these great houses at the hub, emitting decisions to govern all who revolve around them. Stevens characterizes himself, as a professional, as making a "small contribution to the creation of a better world" by serving "the great gentlemen of our times in whose hands civilization had been entrusted" (p. 116).

Stevens unwittingly colludes with the social structures stratifying his world to consolidate power in the hands of a few and allow himself no greater participation than to serve these few. Secure then in their enclave of shared ideology and interests, these "great gentlemen" do not have the benefit of critical questions or significantly different perspectives. Their groupthink blinds them to their great error in underestimating and misunderstanding Germany's interests and ideology.

Stevens realizes too late that his own goal of serving the common good through trusting and serving a decision-maker without question has been corrupted. His awakening, however, does not change the fact that he has neither the resources nor the capacity to claim space for his voice in policy debate or take action. He doesn't even have a public voice, despite the rich personal voice he has developed through reflection.

Conclusion

The story of Stevens' transformation is a powerful one. But what lessons does this novel hold for us in educational policy?

This paper has suggested that imaginative fiction such as the novel The Remains of the Day has the capacity to rattle the cages of our accustomed worldviews, such as the predominantly rational frames through which we analyse and actualize policy development in education. By engaging us in the interior world of an individual, imaginative fiction helps us re-orient our focus to a micro-perspective. This view opens new conceptualizations of educational policy as a personal value choice made by an individual, limited by certain beliefs yet liberated through a transformation of those beliefs. In education, teachers are the individuals exerting the most powerful influence on what happens in classrooms: Elmore (1983) claims "teachers will make most of the important discretionary choices" (p. 357) in implementation of any program. These teachers' choices, these personal policies, shape what actually happens in schools. Imaginative fiction invites us to explore how and why individuals choose to act or not act as they do.

Three themes from the novel The Remains of the Day were shown in this paper to have certain resonance with today's context of educational policy. First, three factors were significant in Stevens' process of personal policy-construction and maintenance, factors which would appear to have parallels with the situation of teachers: the self-concept and beliefs of one's professionalism, the power of the community's ideology, and the controlling rules of an individual's governing paradigm. Second, Stevens' failure to assume any responsibility in key issues and decisions, and his accepting a mantle of trust and loyal service to the elite, bears some similarity to the relationship of teachers and policy-makers. Third, the portrayal of policy-making occurring informally "behind the scenes" as collaborative dialogue between individuals, rather than as ritual and regulations staged in public, is an illuminating way to consider much of the actual process underpinning educational policy development and implementation.

The Remains of the Day leaves us with the image of poor Stevens clinging to and rationalizing his misplaced loyalties:

> The hard reality is, surely that for the likes of you and I, there is little choice other than to leave our fate, ultimately, in the hands of those great gentlemen at the hub of this world who employ our services. What is the point in worrying oneself too much about what one could or could not have done to control the course one's life took? Surely it is enough that the likes of you and I at least try to make our small contribution count for something true and worthy. And if some of us are prepared to sacrifice much in life in order to pursue such aspirations, surely that is in itself, whatever the outcome, cause for pride and contentment. (p. 244)

Stevens' words are hauntingly familiar to any people, particularly in education, who have abdicated responsibility to others to make decisions affecting their life and work. Educational policy research and theory portrays a hierarchy reminiscent of the class stratification characterizing Stevens' world. Teachers often surrender the power of choice underlying policy-making in education to the the administrators and government personnel at the upper levels of this hierarchy. Decisions about and study of educational programs, student evaluation, and teacher professional development are too often removed from teachers to be developed by this elite in an insulated "hub" separated from those who serve the hub.

Maxine Green (1978) despairs of teachers' acquiescence to top-down policy-making, calling teachers to the wide-awakeness of what she considers to be the essence of a truly moral life:

> To be moral involves taking a position ... thinking critically about what is taken for granted. It involves taking a principled position of one's own ... and speaking clearly about it...it is always the individual, acting voluntarily in a particular situation at a particular moment, who does the deciding. (p.49)

This seems to be one of the most important lessons explored in The Remains of the Day, that policy is first and last a personal choice . The novel offers a call to those like Stevens, like some teachers, to awaken and speak and participate actively in decisions that concern them. This call has powerful potential when this responsibility is carried into educational policy-making.

Greene (1978) says, "If individuals are wide-awake and make decisions consciously.... they are not only creating value for themselves, they are creating themselves" (p. 49). Imaginative literature can help us reconceptualize educational policy and program-making from a micro-perspective. When schools and their programs are re-visioned from the lens of personal policy, teachers are empowered to make wide-awake value choices, creating themselves as they create education.

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